In Lüderitz Bay and around Keetmanshoop half-grown boys and young men, when they wanted to make fun of girls, used to sing: 533

[Translator's note: four bars of music and text omitted.]

The teasing is implicit in the ambiguity of the text. The words in themselves, "you, my cheek (χöse)," are straightforward. But not [383] χõs is intended, but χũs, that is, a possession, a "thing" (of any sort) and here specifically: the most preciously guarded possession of the virgin body which the boys boldly call their own.

4. The Dance Without Accompaniment 535

Dances without musical accompaniment came to my attention only once. It was a nocturnal dance with the name ǃtsũ.χu tsa.ǂbe --- da.ǂba tsa.ǂbe. These at the same time are the words that the dancers constantly repeat in time with their steps. The dance is performed by young and old, even by the oldest people of both sexes. Three people take part in it: two who approach each other in a hostile manner and a third who tries to separate the quarrelers by dancing between them every time they approach each other.

The step itself is simple: the right foot is scraped forward and then again half backwards in short paces. Immediately after every such scraping motion the left foot, stamping with the whole sole, is brought forward; at the same time the body sinks into a slight knee bend. The movement goes along slowly and jerkily, but it is not ponderous and it is even graceful when a young body executes it lithely. The movement of the right foot accompanies the words tsũ.χa- and da.ǂba-; the stamping of the left foot occurs on the first syllable of the word lying between them, tsaǂbe.

D. Beginnings of a Literature

1. Point of Origin 538 825

Outside of the narrow circle of his daily needs, and second to his interest in his own kind, the animal world is the favorite playground of the Hottentot's phantasy. He comes into close contact with domestic animals from the very first day of his employment as a herd boy. Left

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to himself day in and day out, from early in the morning until evening, and dependent in his watchman's duties and for his amusement exclusively upon his observation of nature, he soon becomes acquainted with every bird call and he gets to know the habits of wild game and predatory animals as well as the hiding places of all the little animals that spice his scanty meals. All of this comes to him at an age when a childish desire for knowledge and games makes him receptive to everything around him. Later the hunt is his preceptor in natural history. The Hottentot never lacks leisure time in which these impressions can develop, and thus he spins out what he has seen and [384] heard and interprets it in human terms. In its most modest form this takes place when he thinks that he hears words * in animal voices.

*Syllables that are to be sustained are marked with a musical hold. An accent mark is added where the rhythm is especially noticeable in imitation of the animal voice.

A. Animal Voices

Thus a wild dove (Stictoenas phaeonotus Gray, ≠nabu·s), probbably from the time when it was hunted with thorn-tipped arrows, calls to the man: "/Hai kχoētse·, /hai /huru·, !gaba //kχūb gom !kχaī χūba o!" "You good-for-nothing (literally "pale") man, you are playing a good-for-nothing game, the gaba thorn is a poisonous (forbidden) thing!"

A lark, *!hurīē.b by name (I cannot determine whether it is a Calandrella cinerea (Gm.) or a Clothilauda semitorquata A. Sm.), has a zig-zagged flight that rises and falls, and at the peak of its zig-zag it makes a clattering sound with its wings and produces an extended rising tone. In this call the Hottentot hears the words Om·dīre!, that is "fix up the hut!", which is an admonition to the women to tighten the rush mats of the hut, for this bird call is supposed to be heard especially [821] when a storm is approaching; I heard it in all sorts of weather.

The Hottentot finds an admonition to negligent parents in the cry of the !kχu·ririseb bird (which seems to belong to a species of Pycnonotus): "/Gu·rub ≠kχa·rib, /gu·ri //goē·, hū·diros /gu·ri //goē·!" "The Gurub lies alone, the Hudiros lies alone!"

The Hottentots call the black corn crow, the Corvus capensis Licht., *//hō·rab, which is derived from //hō.ra, "to scratch around the ground

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in order to find scraps." In its screeching voice the Hottentot sometimes hears the rejoicing of a happy hunter: "ǁu·rigye go /a·os gye, hõ.gye go ǂhã̃·eĩ gye!" "We (gye, suffix of the first person plural masculine) have drawn (ǁuri)* blood (/aos), we have got (hõ) a springbok (ǂhãeĩ, neut. sing.)."

[224]

*The native hunter ordinarily pours the blood from the body cavity of the freshly killed beast into its eviscerated stomach and carries it home.

The Hottentot also hears dialogues of the birds. Thus, according to him, the white-breasted crow, go/ra·b (3, st.) the Corvus scapulatus Daud., which is not very choosy in selecting its food, calls to the above-mentioned corn crow: "//Hõ.rab, //hõ·rab, /kǁĩ·ẽ·kǁ(u)m ǁau·sa !kǁã !ã·gu!" "Raven, raven, come and let us both pick apart (literally, "stab," !kǁã, and "separate, !ã .) excrement together."

But the addressed crow remains with its own preference and answers: "Go/ra·b, go/ra·b, kǁi· ẽ·kǁ(u)m !ha·nsa !kǁã· !ã·gu!" "Come let us pick apart field bulbs with each other."

The cooing of the turtle dove (ǂna/i·s) has its own story. The Hottentots relate that the turtle dove was once a notorious cattle thief. She once wanted to borrow an ax to chop up the bones of a stolen calf from the sand grouse, Pteroclurus namaqua (Gmel.), !haus, with which she lived. But the honest grouse refused her. Ever since the dove has cursed it with the words *:" !hau·s !ga·rrase, !hau·s

*Here it is especially clear how the choice of the words, their sequence and accentuation, aim at an imitation of the animal voice.

It seems to me that certain observations from the primitive stages of an incipient literature (such as the Hottentots represent) are not without value in determining how man originally came to give his speeches certain rhythms when he wants to free them from oppressive monotony and use them for freer creations of the phantasy. It is no hypothesis but an ascertainment of the actual state of affairs that, in the Nama language, the childish joy in imitating certain animal voices with words represents one way to rhythmical development.

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> Another way can be derived from the pleasure that the Hottentot, as probably every people does, experiences when he refines the movements of his body and makes them the expression of his emotions. Thus, the natural movements of the body, which are rhythmical in themselves, have become dance motions. And since among the Hottentots we encounter dance and music and accompanying song texts in close relation, a second source of conscious rhythmization of language appears here of its own accord.

!ga·rrrase, !ōba /kχu·bi te, ĩ·ta tsaũ.ba !na·n !ã·, ta·naba ǂhũ.i si !" "You filthy beast (!garab is the penis, used as a curse word), lend (/kχubi) me (te) the ax (!ōba); let (ĩ) me (-ta) chop up (!nan!ã) the calf (tsaũba)." "I will split (ǂhũi) your (si) head (tanaba)."

It follows that anybody who understands the language of the animals can also take part in their conversation by means of cries.

B. Cries

The name of a woodpecker (probably the Dendropicus picus cardinalis Gmel.), tĩ·tĩ·ses, imitates the sustained call of the bird. The Hottentots of my party always interpreted this as an erotic enticement and mockingly pass it along to an imagined Bushman by crying: "!nuru//kχum gaitse, nẽ gye tĩtĩses si χaiba ra ãba !" "You old Nurukum (proper name), this woodpecker is calling for you to copulate with her!"

[386] As among us, children discuss the animals with which they play. Thus, they try to make the *//kχaobas lizard lie still by singing to it: [Translator's note: two bars of music omitted.] "han - sib //nao - se, ǂãb t(u)mi //goe re." "Hey, you, Hansib's (fictitious proper name) grandmother, why don't you sit down!" (Literally, "Lie down like an arrow.")

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A dung beetle, that the children spear in order to hear the humming of its flapping wings, is lured with the words: [Translator's note: four bars of music omitted.] "//nao - ba, //nao - ba o /aru ai ǂnũ - re." "Naobas-beetle, oh, why don't you sit down on the manure!"

your own flesh*! Hey you, standing up there on the dove's cliff** 533 539x

*As a characteristic of the dragging, forward-jerking movement of the baboon.

**The steep declivity of the Table Mountains is a favorite resort of the wild doves (see p. 384).

"you dove-mouthed fellow!* You who drag your anus behind you!"

*In ridicule of the baboon's long snout which, in the eyes of the Hottentots, sticks out like a beak.

2. Folk Tales of the Hottentots

*Aibe-gam-//aē-!gã́s-χūna. 538

Just as they call the horizon of the open sea the "back of the water," *//gami!gã́b, likewise they call the remote past, which is as far away as that horizon, the "back of time," *//aē!gã́s. In those days there were still no people, but sun and moon inhabited the earth, and fire was alive; all animals had manlike forms and felt and acted like people. Within the frame of this general conception the Hottentots' imagination reduces all his observations of the animal world and the experiences of his own life to folk tales, which have endured for generations without being written down. In the evening they squat in a circle around the fire of the hut or of the camp in the field, and each person gets a turn to tell his story. Probably it was from no feeling of superstition but simply from the very mood of those happy hours that the precept of allowing these legendary figures to come to life only around the evening fire developed. Anybody who talks about them in the day time might well conjure up the things (χū·na) of the past (aibe-gam)*

*I was not able to determine the etymology of the word *gam. It is used before aibe and ǂgūro, "formerly," in the sense of a demon. particle.

and thereby bring about irremediable confusion. Only after sundown

1: Schultze--188 N-5 (1903-1995) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

does one hear the command !ho·are, "tell a story!"

Although the travelers of the eighteenth century already recognized the Hottentots' love of folk tales, until now only four stories were known in the language of the Hottentots themselves; they were published by Theophilus Hahn (78) according to notes made by

78. Th. Hahn. Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

G. Kroenlein and the Bastard J. de Bries. The rest that has been published on this subject is made up of translations and plot synopses in European languages. George Grey, the governor of the Cape Colony, had the curator of his library, W. H. J. Bleek, send a circular to the missionaries of South Africa with the request to send him everything that might be considered the beginnings of a literature of the [388] natives. Bleek published the results--unfortunately only translations-- although among the 40 stories of his collection 24 had already been copied down in the original by Kroenlein (unfortunately never published). A direct comparison of Bleek's translations with Kroenlein's original text is possible only in the story of the moon myth by means of Th. Hahn's publication of the original. In place of the title, which literally should be "The Moon and the Louse and the Hare," Bleek puts "The Origin of Death," and he suppresses the indecent louse (which also defiles the following text) by speaking instead only of a "little animal." One would pass over such minor details if one prudery did not lead to another and, finally, if it did not produce a result which is absolutely incongruous with the Hottentot's manner of expressing himself. How must a censorship which is so touchy about minor things proceed when the people really reveals itself without a figleaf? Since I am not acquainted with Kroenlein's manuscript, I must keep simply to a comparison of the style and content of my texts with those of Bleek. The translator considered it necessary to make "omissions and changes without which the fables would have appeared too naked in European eyes in order to make these Hottentot fables accessible to a larger public," and he believes that he is not violating the spirit of the fables in doing so. The texts that are published here give the answer: their form of expression reveals the bluntness of a primitive people in which none of the senses is neglected; here, where everything has a sanctuary and no part of the body is objectionable. And specifically little psychological traits in which are to be found the

driving motives for the judgments and actions of the folk tale figures are often bound to the most vivid and forceful expressions. The crude figure of speech of the old female elephant (Folk tale LVIII) characterizes in a word the rough conception of family life that the young wife (in the figure of a fly) wants to escape. The lion's address to the animals (Folk tale LVII) and his unreasonable demands are a striking illustration of the absurdity of an undignified and only apparent authority.

In judging the intellectual level of the people the form of presentation seems to me to count just as much as the content, especially in the beginning stages of an unwritten literature. It will be seen that the Hottentot never anticipates and depicts a character or a situation in his story in advance with an abstract adjective that reveals everything. Never did one of the Hottentots who told me their stories speak [389] of "a simple old hyena," as Bleek does, and never does an animal act "out of malice," etc. Rather, the Hottentot develops a situation, lets us eavesdrop on the conversations of the animals and lets them act before our eyes so that they themselves may show what their feelings are.

It is not astonishing that animals play a main role in the stories of a pastoral and hunting people. But one may not speak of "fables" simply because of this fact. The moral teachings that people have sought and believed to find in the animal legends of the Hottentots by analogy with superficially related indigenous works of art is in the majority of cases nothing more than the expression of an non-contemplative emotion, and by no means a moralizing one: thus we find hatred toward the oppressor and not praise of brotherly love (Folk tale LIX); ridicule of the presumptuousness of a weakling and not praise of self-knowledge and modesty (Folk tale LVII); malicious joy in the bad luck of an old deceiver and not abhorrence at lies (Folk tale XLII). After all, in other connections stealth and deception celebrate triumphs! Wherever more tender emotions play a part, like sibling love (Folk tale LVIII), a mother's grief (LI), the loyalty of friends (Folk tale XXVI)--here the portrayal, in its naivété, stands far above any sermonizing ulterior motive and in erotic matters the imagination with its sometimes bizarre digressions (Folk tale XLIX) leaves absolutely no place for the moralist.

Therefore when Bleek says of the animal stories of the Hottentots: "Children as well as adults who have retained their simple nature and whose taste has not been ruined by the poison of overstimulating reading will always take pleasure in the nicely expressed moral precepts

that they get in any good fable; and the more profound literary connoisseur will likewise be delighted by these first innocent flights of the awakening human phantasy. To people such as these the Hottentot fables that are offered here will surely be welcome," etc., etc, I only see three possibilities of explanation. Either the translation is wrong; or the manuscripts contain only a selection of such tales which satisfy certain prerequisites of Christian moral teaching; or the Hottentot, cunning observer of human nature that he is, edited his stories in advance in usum Delphini, knowing well to whom he was telling them. However that may be, Bleek's reports about the stories do not show me the Hottentot as I have become acquainted with him; for this reason and because I had direct access to the source I took no further consideration of them in matters of detail. [390] On the other hand the translations of the missionary J. Olpp (88, reveal throughout

88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

an understanding and fidelity that can only be produced by intimate acquaintance with the people themselves.

Of the stories that are to be related here the autochthonous origin can surely be questioned in two cases: Folk tale XLVIII, in the course of its action, recalls a Wolof legend that Boilat published and Bleek translated. In this story the jackal of the Hottentots is represented by an elephant, the snake by a hyena, the porcupine by an ox, and the stone by a pit; but the rôles of each individual are, in meaning, the same in both cases. Furthermore, the story of the little traders (XII) corresponds in numerous details to a story of the Hereros that J. Rath copied down in the original language and Bleek again translated from the manuscript. I have no way of determining which people here had priority.

As for the others, I can only reproduce faithfully what I have heard from the mouths of the Hottentots and I must let others answer the question whether or not the folk tales printed here reveal any similarities to the folk tale cycles of other peoples and, if so, which ones. The exact proof of borrowings, if this should turn out to be the case, seems to me to be no less interesting as an insight into the dark pre-history of the Hottentot race than a confirmation of the originality of the stories would be.

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Proceeding from the conviction that it is extremely important, in order to understand the intellectual activity, specifically of a people of low cultural niveau, to comprehend the manner of their conceptualization and the rules by which they combine concepts in the form of images and judgments, I have added to each text an exegesis explaining vocabulary and grammar; this should enable the reader to check the translation word for word. For these texts are to be considered as documents of the Hottentot mind that require deciphering. Anyone who wishes first to read through a tale in coherent German will soon get used to following the German text as a unit and skipping over the explanations that are printed in italics and set in parentheses.

In a purely linguistic connection the following remarks must be made about the texts:

[522]

The jackal as well as the baboon are frequently portrayed in the stories as having a speech defect, and by this alone they produce a comical effect upon the Hottentot listener. Either these animals are caused [391] (if they are being stamped as comical figures) to pronounce no clicks, and instead mutilate the words in question with irregularly unarticulated sounds; or else they are made to repeat one and the same click throughout entire sentences, whether in the right place or not. I always had such intentionally perverted passages repeated to me in correct Nama, and I reproduce them here in this form.

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In order to avoid repetition in the text analyses (wherever this is possible without detracting from clarity), the following points are mentioned here in advance once and for all:

a) In Hottentot the subject is frequently indicated only by the personal suffixes of the third person (see for example Folk tale XVI). Wherever it turned out to be unclear or clumsy to use a corresponding pronoun as a substitute, I generally simply repeated in the translation the noun of the preceding sentence. The personal suffixes of the third person are in the nominative:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b, -i (after m and n)	-kx'a	-gu
euphonic	-ba, -a		-ga
Feminine	-s	-ra	-ti
euphonic	-sa		-te
Neuter	-r	-ra (♂ + ♀)	-n
euphonic	-e		-na

538 128 193 b) The most common auxiliary verbs, also called verbal particles, are:

i used very generally.
a and gye, when they stand alone designate the present.
go and gye gye designate recent and more distant past.
nĩ designates the future.
ra (euphonic ta) designates a progressive action.
hã designates a condition.

c) Direct discourse is frequently introduced in Hottentot only by tsĩ with the personal suffix of the speaker added. At the end of the speech there are the words ti go mĩ, that is "so said he" (she or it, etc.). In translation these words are frequently more comprehensible if they are placed at the beginning and often I have used the substantive, not simply the pronoun, as subject.

d) The common conjunctions o and tsĩ I have translated according to context as: "and, now, then, thereupon," etc.

[392] Whenever the Hottentot lists a number of objects or persons (even though there are only two), he always adds at the end, to sum it up, the conjunction tsĩ with the personal suffix of the listed persons in the dual or plural and in the masculine, feminine or neuter. Thus: /gĩrib tsĩ χami tsĩ ǂhĩras tsĩna, that is: "the jackal and the lion and the hyena and they." I have not reproduced this summing-up particle in the translation.

e) I propose to designate a peculiarity of the Hottentot narrative style as the "narrative passive." Instead of saying: tsĩs gye go ǂnãĩ, that is "and she danced," the Hottentot, in the context of the story, likes to say: tsĩ gye go ǂnãhe (-he, passive ending), that is "dancing was done," [Translator's note: "und es wurde getanzt": English has no equivalent for this impersonal passive.] whereby the subject of the preceding sentence is imagined personally with all definiteness although it is not indicated in the passive sentence itself by any suffix.

If the subject of the sentence is a substantive, then in the narrative passive construction it is frequently (but not always!) followed by the word χa. In this case one can regard χa as the preposition "of" and might accordingly translate the sentence: /gõati χa i gye gye sarihe, literally as: "by the girls it was gone walking" [Von den Mädchen wurde spazieren gegangen]. But whenever this χa can be

dropped and is replaced by a demonstrative personal suffix, this formal adjustment of the German to Hottentot (for lack of anything better) is not possible. 539 128 M3

I have translated all constructions of the narrative passive as active clauses with a definite subject.

f) The words of the translation that were added for better understanding or in order to avoid unnecessary roughness in the translation, although no word in the Hottentot text corresponds to them are set in brackets [ ].

The folk tales of the Hottentots can be grouped in five classes:

a) Adventures in the Wilderness 538

In the remote interior of the land lives, in the folk tale world, a fabulous beast that the Hottentots call ǂhailgā/mūǂxab, because its eyes (mūǂti) are not in its face but on the back (!gā/b) of its feet (ǂhaiti). The being is thought of in a manlike shape, walking upright, and hence with eyes directed towards the sky. If it wants to see what is happening on the ground, it must lie down on all fours: on its extended arms in front and on its knees in the rear. [393] Then it raises one knee and bends it as far as it can until the back of the foot with its eye is looking backward horizontally. These fabulous beasts live together harmoniously and hunt down human beings, whom they take for zebras, in order to tear them apart with their finger-long sharp teeth that mesh like those of a predatory animal. Thus they are also called "kχoē-oren (kχoēb "man," "o-re "to run up and devour the buried prey"). The man-eating female has in addition the special name "/gaũ-/bes. In the adventures with the Aigamucha people (Folk tales I to VI) the Hottentot does not adhere in detail so strictly to the above-mentioned characteristics that he ascribes to these man-eaters; generally he has them appear so manlike that they can deceive their prey as to their true character until escape seems impossible. The discovery of the foot-eyes of the Aigamuchab is the achievement of the jackal (Folk tale VI).

The manifold Experiences While Wandering (Folk tales VII to XII) are comprehensible without commentary.

Only a few Hunting Adventures (Folk tales XIII and XIV) that deserve to be considered as folk tales reached my ears. The one hunting adventure (Folk tale XIV) is tied to the name of /gu-rikχoēseb,

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that "Unique Man," (66) who was the first of his kind to inhabit the earth.

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten, Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie. (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867.)

Among the Hottentots I ran into another conception of the /gu-rikǂoẽseb, that perhaps arose later: he was described to me as a hunter who lived alone in the wilderness with his wife and his dogs; in accordance with this one would simply call him a person who has settled off by himself and in short the "hermit." Accordingly the word /gu-rikǂoẽseb would then be formed in analogy to the word /gu-riseb, a designation for the springbok ram that has been expelled from the herd and lives alone.

[394] [Text omitted]

Translation of I

The Girls Who Take a Walk to the Village of the Aigamucha Woman

537[1]

Girls (/gõati "daughters) went walking (sari narr. pass.) to the (//ge) kraal of the Aigamucha woman; and when they got there (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.) one (/gui) of them ("a person," kǂoĩs, fem.) is pregnant (!goen); this one is addressed (mĩ "to say") like this by (ǂa) the Aigamucha woman: "Come (/kǂĩ), let yourself (literally: "and ẽ [imperative], I -ta, manage you -ti") be massaged!" (!guri, cf. Care of the Skin, pp. 207 and 218). And she is managed. Then her (ã, root of the poss. pron., -a personal suff. of the possessor) front apron (!gaêb) was bound together (!gai "to bind," //are "to unite") with (/kǂa) the front apron of the former (//(e)ĩs, personal pron.), and the others (expressed here only by the personal suff.) went home (//aru, vb.).

The one (nau, literally: "other") girl, however, was held back (!kǂõ "to catch," maĩ "to place") and told (gai) to lie down (//goẽ).

ran off to play and tumble about. In these extremely harmless words the lion clothes his intention of revenge.

And when it was still dark (!kx'aŏ) over (ai) the land (!hûb), the lion went away; and while he climbed (!aba, hã "to come to") up a tree (hais) that stood (mã) in(ti na) the water (//gaiti), [420] the hermit came. But the dogs, when they went to drink (ã), saw (mĩ) the shadow (somma) in the water, and each (hoaba) dog that comes down (//gõe'xa) growls (literally: "becomes angry," //a'ka) and stands.

But he (//(o)ĩ'b), the hermit, drank. Then [the lion] leaped (ui) down (//gonaxa, down), but he jumped out of the way (ŋõ), and the dogs bit [the lion] to death (nã!an).

b) The Bergdamara or the Mountain Kaffirs

The Hottentot, as we saw earlier (p. 323), has no high opinion of the Bergdamara. This is also expressed in the short folk tale in which he makes fun of the baboon-like appearance of his black servants (Folk tale XV).

There is only one characteristic that he ascribes to them without reservation: the precocious independence and fearlessness of the Bergdamara child that is celebrated in the war story in Folk tale XVI and in the lion encounters of Folk tales XVII and XVIII.

On the other hand, the Hottentot, with his strong sense of family discipline, is struck by the lack of parental authority and filial respect among the Bergdamara. Anyone who hears stories XIX and XX from the mouth of a Hottentot sees clearly that here only a satire on the degenerated family relationships is intended. Likewise the dirty joke in XXII has the same intention.

I 537 Then the Kaffir woman (expressed by the suff. -s) asked: "Hey, you (ne, demon., -tse, special form of the suff. for the 2nd pers. masc. sing.), why (tarets, with the suff. of the pers. addressed) are you still aiming after (ta, ending of the pret. participle) I (tita) have given you field onions, after all (o), and mice (neut. sing.), and have treated you so well?" And he answered: "Well (gum . . . o), I have desires (literally: "I am on the lookout" /gona, -si adj. ending) for (_a, with the personal suff. of the subj.) that which becomes flat (/hâbe, pass., -i suff. of the neut. sing.) when one sits (/nusi, adj.)."

Then she called (/gai) her daughter and said: "Take (u) this man (sobe); and (e) you (-ts, addressed to the man), don't (tã) stick (/gâ and ũ) the whole (ǂoraga = hoaraga) thing (_ũ, neut. sing.) in; she is a young (/k am) little (-no, dimin.) Kaffir girl." But he stuck the whole thing in. Then the girl cried (ũ) and the old (gai "big," with the suff. of the relative substantive because it is placed after the noun) Kaffir woman said: "I (-ta) told you (sãtsa), didn't I (gum . . . o): young is the Kaffir girl, don't go in (ao "to throw") with the whole thing!" Thus she spoke (pret. participle) and took the girl.

[431] c) From Family Life and Pastoral Life

538 539 Folk tale XXIII is in praise of married love. Folk tale XXIV, exceptional in its strictly moralizing form, gives us a view of the duties of the children in the house. Folk tale XXV is perhaps only a fragment.

The legend of the rejected boy whom in the one case (Folk tale XXVI) the bull assists and in the other case (Folk tale XXVII) the cow, and the two folk tales about the stupid fellow (XXVIII and XXIX) are taken from pastoral life.

[432] [Text omitted]

Translation of XXIII

I 53 The People Who Go in Search of Rushes

A man (kxoõ!b) had taken (!game, narr. pass.) a wife. And the man along with his brother (kxoõ !gaguk'a) and the wife, the three

537 said (in the pret. participle): "They are predicting death (/go/a, vb.) for me (tita)," and cut (!gaoxa) their throats (domi). But the younger one (ǂoxama) said: "Oh (ũ), they (-ti, personal suff.) have eaten (!ũ "to graze") themselves full (//ã); for that reason indeed (gum---o) the goats talk that way!" But while (hĩa) he spoke thus, (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.), the other had already (toa, narr. pass.) with the throat-cutting. Then they took (ũ) the meat (//gana) and went away (!gũng).

And they came (tĩ) to (doba) Boers. But these poured (taoro) out (xu) rice and ordered (gai) the two of them (-kxĩ, suff. in the dat.-acc.) to pick it up (ũĩ kxaĩ). But while (hĩa has the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they were picking it up, white (!uri) crows (gorate) came (/kxĩ) and helped (hui) them pick it up, and the sack (//hõa) became full (toa "to become finished"). - - - - - - - - -

Here the narrator stopped and, without any evident connection with the preceding, continued:

Then the father (ĩba) of the girl (kxoĩs) whom the snake (/aob) had taken as a wife (!game) said: "Run and (ẽ, with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) go to the kraal (//gaũs) of the snake in order to fetch (ũba) me (te, suff.) my (ti) child (õasa)."

And he got there at the time when the snake was gone (/kxaĩ) and questioned (tẽ) [the girl]. She said: "He [that is, the snake] will (nĩ) come right away (/ãse)." Then he asked her: "Where (maba, with the personal suff.) does his (//(e)ĩb, personal pron., di gen. particle) strength (/gaisa) sit (ǂãũ)?" "In (ai) the forehead (!ũs) sits (ǂnõa) his (ĩ, originally a vb.: "to belong"; now a poss. ending) strength," answered the girl.

[447] And when the snake came (hã, with the personal suff.) he transformed himself (gai, vb.) into an ant (ǂgoberu-b) and climbed (doã, "to wander," !aba "to climb up") upon his forehead and sucked (/gom) out (ǂui) his (ã, root of the poss. pron., -ba personal suff. of the possessor) strength, took (pret. participle) the girl and went home (//aru).

d) Ha!nsiaibeb Myths

538 Hai-tsiai-bens is the Hottentot name for the group of folk tales 716 about a hero of former times, to whom, just a few decades

538 ago (66), they still erected grave mounds in remote districts (cf.
77L

66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

"burial customs," p. 317) in the form of stone heaps upon which a passerby placed a stone or twig in the hope that he might be rewarded by finding a good path and water.

If the hypothesis should be confirmed that the Hottentots at a later date transplanted Haitsiaibeb to the sky as the moon (78), then the

78. Th. Hahn. Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

moon myth (Folk tale XXX) would also have to be included in this group. The text that I heard narrated deviates from the one published by Th. Hahn in that the louse that is caught by the hare in his story is missing in mine.

Attempts have been made to interpret a legendary figure that the Hottentot calls tsi//goab as an expression of an idea of God; Kroenlein (57) translates this supposed Hottentot god-concept as "the

57. J. G. Kroenlein. Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

one who is difficult (tsi/) to entreat (//goa)." According to my conviction such a derivation is linguistically inadmissible. For the first word stem, as I have convinced myself again and again, is not tsi/, but rather tsi/', as it occurs in tsu/'i-"to wound." Older authors have indeed heard and written down not tsi//goab, but tsi//goab. Since in the formation of compound words the accent that was characteristic of the single word is frequently lost in favor of the new word accent (see p. 303), it cannot be determined whether the second root of our word is //goa-"to entreat" or //go-as "knee." But according to all that is known about the meaning of tsi/', the latter interpretation is by far the more probable. I believe that in this point the missionary Kroenlein was a bad influence on the linguist Kroenlein, and on the basis of my

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own text I concur with Th. Hahn's derivation, according to which tsoaob signifies something like "wounded knee": the designation for a hero who is wounded in the knee in battle. It is quite another question whether this hero, as is suspected, is identical with the above-mentioned Haitsiaibeb.

In view of the great veneration that is paid to ancestors, it is understandable that the Hottentot swears by the name of "Wounded Knee": "tsī-ʔ//goa-ao !" [448] I have also often heard the exclamation of astonishment corresponding to our "my God!": "tsī-ʔ//goatse !"

In Folk tale XXXI there figures as an enemy of mankind a being that the Hottentots designated to me as "ǂgã̄-ʔǂgori-b because he is supposed at one time to have hurled (ǂgori-) people head over heels abruptly ("ǂgã̄ʔ, vb.) down into a pit, until the jackal stopped his actions. The monster then arises from death and boasts of his immortality. But I suspect that the text published by Bleek (in which Haitsiaibeb figures as the savior and the immortal) is the older one and I therefore heard only vague memories of the now almost forgotten group of tales about Haitsiaibeb.

In tales I heard the "Hurler" himself called only "!U-ʔriseb's father." I ran into his proper name, however, once in a figure of speech by which a Hottentot was protesting about a hard jostling: "ǂgã̄ʔǂgoribits ga goma a ǂhaǂmrihe !" "May you be knocked down by the Hurler!" (the final i in ǂgoribits is equivalent to ǁa "by, "-ts "you," ga has potential particle, goma makes the curse a sort of commission to the monster, a is a present particle, "ǂhaǂm "to knock down," -ri means as much as "against" in "to bump against," he pass. particle).

[Text omitted]

X539

Translation of XXX

The Moon and the Hare

The moon (//xxãb) went (ī, probably in the narr. pass. see p. 388; ǁa demon. particle, i auxiliary vb.); verbal particle of the

*539 (gai, narr. pass.) the people (kχoēna) look for (-re is added to the stem to make the vb.) firewood (/aēba) and throws (ao) them down (#nā) into (!na) the pit and sets (!kχā) them on fire (#hubi "to ignite," narr. pass.). And when (ū) a person comes (/kχī), he chases (!kχoē) after (ū) "with" him (expressed by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -ī) round about (//namiba, vb.) the pit and shoves (#hā) him down into (#gā "to stick into") the pit.

But one day (gui tsē) the jackal came, after (tsī, particle of the pret. participle) he had smeared (#kχau) himself (-sen, refl. particle) with fat (//nuiba) and had made himself wet (/ā /ā); and the two of them (-kχa, suff. of the dual masc.) chased around in a circle. Then that one pushed the jackal, but slipped down (#kχanu) and fell (//nā) down (//gona) [himself] and burned up (kχau). Then the jackal went home (//aru, vb.).

But the other dies (//ō) and comes to life again (!gī) and eats (#ū) from the Nais bush and [sings]: "Bury (//kχō) me (te, suff.), won't you (re), me, Uriseb's father (here without a personal suff.). Bury me in big (gai, with the personal suff. of the related substantive because it is post positive) nais bushes." "I (-ta, suff.), Uriseb's father, have died, [but although] dead, I am alive."

c) Animal Tales

●538 825 776 The belief that certain people have the capacity of transforming themselves, while they are asleep, into animals and, as such, to wander about unrecognized and to observe things that otherwise would be concealed from them, is encountered not infrequently.

The legendary being that the Hottentots call //gaũa·b also possesses this capacity to assume any desired animal and human shape. They imagine this being in human shape as a skeleton covered with skin and with feet as long as an arm. "As quickly as a flame flickers up from the glowing ashes and then dies out," -- this is how fast, as a boy told me, the being steps into a hut at night and steals a child. It hastens with him into a cave that it has dug in loose soil and rides upon its prey until it has suffocated in the dust. By day the //gaũa·b can also assume animal form. [451] Such a klipspringer, jackal or

538 whatever else it may be, does not flee, for it is invulnerable. The
825 being appears to people in human shape only at a distance since he
776 would be recognized by his facial expressions despite all disguise.

538 The emphasis of the Hottentot animal tales, however, does not
825 lie in these arbitrary fantasies that are only loosely connected with the animal world, but rather in the animal characterizations, which are executed with sharp individual characteristics, and in the transferral of the characteristics to human types. Because the Hottentot reveals himself in these animal portrayals as a sensitive observer of himself--because, in the manner in which he brings the stories to an end, he gives clear expression to his moral evaluation of individual types--because here, finally, he does not need to disguise himself because of anxiety or utilitarian considerations--for all these reasons I regard these tales as the purest reflection of his inner self.

Among the animals behind whose words and deeds the Hottentot conceals himself the jackal claims a predominant position. Excelling all others in cleverness, he plays his deliberate game with the strongest as well as the weakest. The hyena, his opposite, is the symbol of stupidity; with the hyena he can allow himself any old joke (Folk tales XXXII and XXXIII) and even deceit (XXXIV), insofar as the transgression does not offend the feelings of piety that are conceded even to a stupid person (XXXV).

The guile of the jackal is crowned with success especially in cases when it is linked with personal courage (XXXVI) or where it skillfully exploits the cowardice of the opponent (Folk tales XXXVII and XXXVIII); in these cases the hated leopard or the more harmless baboon. When the narrow-mindedness of the opponent is combined with avarice, as in the adventure of the jackal with the Boers (XXXIX), the sly fox is allowed to escape from the noose successfully at the last moment. When half measures are applied in indecision (XL) or in mildness that is badly out of place (as is told of the missionary in Folk tale XLI), the jackal is even allowed to get away with deceit, murder and theft. But every once in a while they do not begrudge the old rascal a good beating when he approaches the "dwarf" impertinently and conceitedly (Folk tale XLII) or when he is all too domineering with the flamingo family (Folk tale XLII).

The jackal has the Hottentot's unlimited sympathy when, as the underdog, he is clever enough to get out of the clutches of the stronger

538 825 one (the lion) [452] (Folk tales XLIV and XLV); and even more so in cases when he is taking vengeance for injustices that he has suffered personally (XLVI); and most of all in cases when he breaks the tyranny of the strong simultaneously as an avenger and benefactor of all weak people (XLVII).

The jackal's slyness is regarded from the humorous side when, as both referee and liberator, he teaches the serpent and the porcupine a lesson (XLVIII).

The jackal appears as a Don Juan with varying luck: successfully in the salacious Folk tale XLIX and as the cheated lover in Folk tale L, where he falls in love with the sun.

Next to the jackal the lion is most sharply characterized and humanized in the tales. Everywhere hate or ridicule are showered upon him. He is hated because of his brutality, which makes him the murderer of his own children from the marriage with the ostrich (LI) and because of his violence, which makes it unpleasant even for the peaceful baboon to be his neighbor (LII). In consequence, his punishment overtakes him all the more easily, the more he considers himself superior to the others: even the little aro-lizard leads him around by the nose (LIII). And at the same time he is so lecherous that he does not hesitate to feign illness in order to rape his masseuse (LIV).

He is ridiculously conceited about his power and considers himself invincible. He has to be taught better by the ostrich (LV) and even by the little steinbok (LVI). The silver jackal pays him back so well for his arrogance that his sham authority finally loses all its glory (LVII).

The theme of the triumph of guile and skill of the weak over the crude superior strength of the stronger is constantly repeated in Hottentot tales in ever-new variations and animal portraits. One of the best tales, one that gives us deep insight into the emotional life of the Hottentots in its most varied aspects is LVIII, which deals with the fly and the elephant. Furthermore, the story telling how the "dwarf" frees himself from the tyranny of the elephant is, despite all anthropomorphization of conditions, still kept close to the animal's manner of living (LIX).

As in the preceding stories the fly and the "dwarf" in the two following tales, a bird about the size of a black-bird, called

538 825 gā·ǂtsi/ha·mabes, plays the part of the weaker party. However, it is superior in battle because of its cleverness. The bird, which appears in the shape of a young lively girl, frees itself and its family from the plague [453] of the python (LX); in another story its attentiveness and guile rescues the girls from murder by the honey badger and his companions, who go dancing with them to the growling reed music of the dorbeetle (LXI).

A simple ruse (similar indeed to the one used by our hedgehog with the hare) aids the tortoise to victory in the race with the ostrich (LXII). Even the giant antelope, the eland, must pay with his life for his arrogance to the tortoise (LXIII). In Folk tale LXIV (as in the Bergdamara adventures) the motif recurs that an important decision or change is placed in the hands of the weak.

In conclusion I offer four tales that, in part crudely naive and in part with a somewhat greater supply of fantasy, are to be interpreted simply as an illustration of certain peculiarities in the external appearance or in the natural history of certain animals (zebra, iguana, baboon, etc.; Folk tales LXV through LXVIII).

136 538 In order to avoid explanations in the translations, I take this opportunity to present a list, briefly and generally in simplified spelling, of the animals that figure in the legends. (Those that are only mentioned incidentally and that do not play an active part themselves are given in parentheses.) In the index at the end of the book one can ascertain in which tales the individual animals appear:

1. Elephas africanus (Blumenb.), the elephant, ǂkxaob.
2. Giraffa capensis (Lesson), the giraffe, !naǂb.
(3.) Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), the rock-rabbit, !aũb.
4. Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), the eland, !kxans.
(5.) Antodorcas euchore Zimmerm., the springbok, //gũb.
Folk tale name, ǂhãeb.
6. Rhaphiceros campestris (Thumberg), the steinbok, !aris.
(7.) Ovis aries L. platyura, fat-tailed sheep, gub.
8. Bos taurus L., domestic cow, gomab.
9. Equus zebra L., the zebra, !goreb.
(10.) Equus caballus L., the horse, hãb.
11. Felis leo L., the lion, ami. Folk tale name: gaiǁgãba, that is, "Big back."
12. Felis pardus L., the leopard, /garub.

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13. Canus mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal, /gîrib. Addressed by the hyena in the tales as "my brother Pale," ti !gã /haisetse because of his yellow fur. In the tales the jackal child has the proper name ũsgyeb.

[454] 14. Hyaena brunnea Thunberg, the brown hyena, ǂnĩras (specifically °ǂnũbe ǂnĩras), also called "my sister Pointed Run," ti !gã ǂgõbese, by the jackal in the tales because of its posture in running.

15. Vulpes chama (A. Smith), the silver jackal, !kχamab, hunters' name: °ǂgaihetoma-b (see p. 283); puzzling folk tale name: °hoagye-!gã-hãkχoĩ sõab, that is "the son (õab) of the sister (!gãs, kχois, "woman") of all (hoa) [mankind] (gye and hã, verbal particle)."

16. Felis caffra Desm., the wildcat, /hõab.

17. Mellivora ratel (Sparrm), the honey badger, /harebab.

18. Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), [Mierkatze], the "dwarf" /ẽb (specifically: °!uri/ẽb).

(19.) Canis familiaris L., the house dog, arib.

20. Hystrix africae-australis (Peters), the porcupine, !noab.

21. Lepus, the hare (see p. 285), !õas.

22. Papio porcarius (Boddaert), the baboon, /nẽrab.

23. Struthio australis L., the ostrich, /amib. Puzzling folk tale names: hubais and hĩngatu-bus. Proper name of the ostrich child in the tales: batsibab.

24. Saxicola pileata (Gm.), Kochlar, °gãtsin/hamabes.

(25.) Numida spec., guinea hen, /kχinas.

26. Phoenicopterus, the flamingo, fala-migob (a borrowed name that is also applied, as it seems, to a heron of the interior).

27. Gallus domesticus Bois, domestic chicken, hũnors (borrowed).

28. Corvus scapulatus Daud., white crow, gorab or !uri gorab.

29. Python sebae, python, °gai/aob. The rudiments of the rear [825] extremities of this animal are regarded by the Hottentots as testicles, and hence they call the python also °go/ma-ǂkχa-raseb, that is "the one with the oxen testicles." I heard old people call the python °!ga-ʔnigyen!gũʔb because the animal squeezes its prey to death (!gaʔni) and because his "testicles" are attached in the rear like an apron (!gũʔb).

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30. Psammophis notostictus, sand snake, sanugyeõ aseb.
31. Varanus spec.[1], iguana, !no^{p}na b, *//nareb in the Bergdamara dialect.

[455] 32. Agama spec. (A. atra Daud. or A. planiceps Peters). Aro lizard, !aro b.

33. A Lacertidae, related to a Scapteira, /gabestau b.
34. Pelomedusa glaeata (Schoepff), a tortoise that lives in slimy water and therefore smells bad. The general term for tortoise is //kχuri· b.
35. Batrachia anura of various species, insofar as they can be included within the general term "frog," //gũ·^{p}tsi//gũ·^{p}bes. [Fig. --Canis mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal called /gĩ·rib.]
36. Muscidae of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "fly," /gĩna·s.
37. Orthoptera of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "grasshopper," *ǂnã$_{4}$/!au^{p}s; because of their hopping movements the grasshoppers are compared to a girl who dances (ǂnã$_{4}$) and rages (*!au^{p}).

[456] 38. Orthoptera from the families of the Hetrodidae and Stenopelmatidae; to the latter belongs the type of Maxentius called /kχu·nitsi//kχu·meb, that is "glutton belly."

39. Coprophage Lamellicornier from the group Scarabaeinae, types of "dorbeetles." The dorbeetle is called χau·tsi//ga·$_{4}$mabeb because of its burrowing movements in dung; he nestles up to the dung (χaub) exactly as one lies down at night (*//ga$_{4}$ma·) close to the fire. The buzzing sound of his wings is compared in the tales to the bass of the reed pipes. In folk tales the dung beetle appears under the name ǂanagyeõgaieb.

(40.) Formicidae, ants, ǂgoberu·gu.

[1] [German "der Leguan". In English were commonly called Monitor. – Ausl/pf]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 197

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 197 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 538 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [875]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

ebony-tree has been called after the green colour of the bile, and also whether the rainbow, *tsawirub*, received its name from *tsubab*. ǃUri is a derivative from the original ǃû, and certainly has with ǃ*ubus*, egg, the root ǃu in common; consequently ǃuri means egg-coloured, and the egg *par excellence*, the ostrich egg, is white. The same root for white and egg we had in the ǃAi Bushman language. ǃAm, green, means originally *springing up*, or *shooting forth*, like in German *ausschlagend*, used for the fresh green leaves; ǃa, to hit, ǂnou-ǃa, and ǂnou-ǃan, to beat —to hit, German, *treffen*; ǁnau-ǃa and ǁnau-ǃan to hear —to hit, *i.e.*, to understand; mû-ǃa and mû-ǃan, to see or to look—to hit, *i.e.*, to observe, to perceive, to acknowledge. ǃAva, red, is nothing else but ǃaua, blood-coloured, from ǃau, to bleed, or ǃau-b, blood. ǃHuni is yellow, that is, the colour of clay or ground, from ǃhu-b, ground, earth, clay. ǂGama, brown, is the colour of ǂgâb, originally ǂgamab, the colour of a *vley*; the vley is a water-pond, which is dry in the winter, and then the bottom shows a brown colour. ǃKhan, grey, is the colour of the ǃkhani, Bos elaphus ǃNai-ǂu is the colour of the ǃnaib, giraffe and also of the zebra. ǀGaru is dotted like a leopard, hence this animal is called ǀgarub. The other name of ǀgarub, leopard, however, is more significant; he is also called χasaûb, the mark—scratcher, from χoa to scratch, and aû to mark, to imprint.

I cannot conclude this chapter without adding some remarks on Khoikhoi poetry, and on the so-called "*Reed-dance*," ǂâb, to which in the following chapters repeatedly reference will be made.

The Khoikhoi have two kinds of poetry, sacred and profane. The sacred hymns, as well as the profane songs, are sung accompanied by the so-called Reed-music or Reed-dancers. The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations, and songs of praise in honour of Tsuiǁgoab, Heitsiebib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs.